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GENDER VIOLENCE IN THE POST-PATRIARCHALIZATION OF GLOBAL AGE: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE OF ITALY AND SERBIA*

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The purpose of the essay is to overcome interpretative dualism between Italian and Serbian society about gender violence against women. In a comparative approach it will find elements of continuity between the decline of male domination in Italy and the decline of patriarchal power in Serbia as a result of a variety of historical and social causes that, inside the paper, are explained. The emancipation of women finds a block in the violence suffered by partners in some familiar contexts. While globalization and unemployment seem to deprive men of the marks of traditional power, but "men in decline" have an post-patriarchal "identity revanche" in assuming the dominant role of perpetrators in private life. Gender violence has an instrumental function within the relational dynamics. Also, gender violence has specific cultural, ethnic, sexual characteristics in the reality of gender identity.

KEYWORDS: gender violence / post-patriarchalization / tradition / identity / Global Age.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Gender violence phenomena in many countries of Europe find a possible explication in a general "masculine decline" and a more general "female emancipation". Aggressive behaviors develop within particular situational contexts characterized by a persistent relational oppression. In these contexts, men, using strategies of domination and control of women, ritualize the violence that becomes the central axis of the couple's life. Violence in intimate relationship is traditionally nurtured by many factors as post-patriarchal traditions and deviant patterns of behavior of certain subcultures. Violence in intimate relationship is traditionally nurtured by many factors as post-patriarchal traditions and deviant subcultures. Nevertheless, especially in recent years, is triggered by effects of Global Age (Giddens 2007) and the cleavage of the values and rules of Modernity well as by a more general economic impoverishment of working classes and middle classes in Europe.

Globalization and poverty are two factors that indirectly but massively have caused the decline of male identity in the public sphere and its attempt to "revanche" in private life. Both in the Eastern and the Western Europe, violence is relied on elements of post-patriarchal domination ("symbolic domination" with Bourdieu) and is intersected with economic power exercised by man within the family. Power determined by the paid work that up to fifty 'years has been almost exclusively prerogative of men. In this way, men belonging to the middle class and the working class, which had a paid work, plays a domination function and a breadwinner role within families. Especially in Eastern Europe, prejudice and tradition are been a tool aimed to defending the "prerogatives of identity" of men , as people belonging to the dominant gender or a gender with a threatened identity by contemporary global pressures.

On the other hand, Post-Modernity and Global Age with their cultural and economic effects contributed strongly to belittle every form of prejudice and male power's symbolic exercise (Bourdieu 1997). In our opinion, gender violence has an instrumental function within the relational dynamics otherwise destined to run out (Collins 2008); has a substantive valence and specific characteristics of type cultural, ethnic, sexual (Guillaumin 1995) able to give meaning to reality of men and women otherwise dispossessed of their identity.

Nevertheless, studies that combine the concept of identity with gender violence as a possible effect of recent war in Balkans on second generations

or as a more general decline of masculine identity are not sufficiently detected.

This reflection has the purpose to analyse the phenomenon of violence between adults (in intimate relationships) in Italy, a post-Modernist State of Western Europe, and in Serbia, a post-conflict State of Eastern Europe (Ramet 2002). We wonder if the analysis of the phenomenology of violence in ex-Yugoslavia (where, for example, not only the intra-familiar abuses on women and minors are increasing) as "social embodiment of masculine identity recognition" of violence can constitute a pattern to describe a widespread micro-social condition whose heuristic impact is useful to the violence contrast that is in countries – as Italy – which left the war in the further recess of the "Short Century", but they can bring more direct violent dynamics that are reflected in their couple relations and in those among pairs, in the incapacity/impossibility to run the gender and generation conflicts, and that of countries that are flagellated by the civil war, which use against women abuses of unusual and unacceptable violence.

2. STATE OF ART

Violence as a phenomenon of social relations has also been the subject of recent studies primarily anthropological and ethnological (Riches 1986; Staub 1989; Héritier 1996; Clastres 1998; Hanssen 2000; Schmidt and Schröder 2001; Nodstrom 2004; Dei 2005, only name a few) or philosophical (Weil 1956; Arendt 1970; Elias 1969; Foucault 1976 et seq.; Aron 1976; Kristeva 1980; Maffesoli 1984; Escobar 2001; Balibar 2001; Resta 2002; Appaduraj 2005, just to name a few), but except in some sociological studies of contemporary fine interest (Honneth 1986, Boltansky 1993 Walklate 1995, Melucci 2000, Rebughini 2001 and 2004 to name a few), mostly declined in the "victimological meaning" (Balloni and Viano 1989; Bisi and Faccioli 1996; Sironi 2001 to name a few) much remains to be defined.

The violence has so far been an integral part of the definition of conflict and power, but has not yet assumed the role of a central explorative category with which to interpret some types of social "violent setting" in gender-close-relationship and the role of different identities played by all subjects involved in relationships. On the international level, sociological literature so far has given ample space to the processes that determine the identity and the so-called "identity achievement" or "identity recognition" (Simmel 1917; Mead 1927-30; Goffman 1961 and 1963; Blumer 1969; Berti 1998; Habermas 1991; Giddens 1991; Ferrara 1999; Sparti 2000; Serino 2001; Crespi 2004; Romania

2005, just to name a few). Category of identity has rarely been associated with that of gender-based violence because the latter one, has not yet assumed the central role of its explanatory category, with which we can interpret some types of social action in micro-sociological sense.

In classic social theory we do not find many traces of violence as a stand-alone interpretive category – separate from that of the conflict and the power – of the social phenomena. Sociologists tend to confuse violence – as a category of interpretation as well as the substratum of certain relations deviant – with conflict, or to offer a reading of modernity as the time in which the "irrational" forces of violence are removed from daily life. This rationalized conception of the individual and society has greatly influenced sociological studies in Western Europe, pushing to consider violence as a residual phenomenon, and not as a form of social and political action in itself.

Since the 90's, we see a first change of this theoretical approach, a change that coincides with the "ethnic turn" in studies of collective movements emerged in Eastern Europe . The bloody dissolution of the Yugoslav Federation is just one of the most tragic events that invite scholars to focus on violence as social force for define belonging and identity (Boric 1997; Mertus, Tesanovic, Metikos, Ivekovič 1999; Ramet S. 2002; Sekulic T. 2002; Kesič, Jankovič, Bijelč 2004; Antić Gaber 2006, 2009). Today it is clear that violence is both quantitatively and qualitatively different from conflict (Woodward 1995, Rieff 1996, Marzo Magno 2001; Seculić 2006), but fed it and has a crucial function as a crucial role is exercised by the prejudices that define the identity and the need to safeguard against threats cultural identity that cultural globalization carries with it.

With this paper, we propose paradigm shift that sees the transformation of violence as a collective phenomenon to violence as a phenomenon of micro-social domain and as a practice of identity recognition within intimate relationships. For this purpose will be analyzed this paradigm shift in Serbia, a "social territory" where the identity – ethnic and religious – of the actors had a crucial function, and in Italy, where is being a "male identity dissolution".

Nevertheless the problem of gender violence in sexual relationships as indicated by some recent surveys, has taken over the contours of a real social emergency in Serbia and the ex-Yugoslavia. Other hand, in Italy, the phenomenon has taken the dramatic accent - and ever more frequent – of femicide. In order to highlight the gravity of the phenomena will be indicated the major quantitative surveys carried out in Italy and in Serbia in the last decade.

3. MASCULINE DECLINE AND GENDER VIOLENCE IN ITALIAN SOCIETY

Italy is a nation globalized and culturally advanced. In it we highlight on the social plane, the process of the emancipation of women on the one hand and the gradual decay of masculine identity on the other, along with the progressive loss of masculine dominance in the areas of the public sphere and the private.

According to our recent research, the increase in gender-based violence is caused by:

1. the gradual abandonment of the idea of male domination and supremacy which was based on the Italian family;

2. the abandonment of most of the religious values, that in marriage and the traditional family posed the foundation of society and for a long time (until 1974) prevented the divorce;

3. the progressive professional empowerment of women;

4. the resulting sexual emancipation of women that began in the sixties and is symbolized by the case of "Franca Viola" – the first woman in Sicily who refused the marriage as consequence of a sexual assault.

In 2006 was published the first national survey on violence against women in Italy (I.S.T.A.T. 2006). According to I.S.T.A.T. are 6,743,000 women between 16 and 70 who have been victims of physical or sexual violence. Five million women have suffered sexual violence (23.7%), 3 million 961 thousand physical violence (18.8%). About 1 million women have suffered rapes or attempted rapes (4.8%). The violent acts are committed mostly by people closely linked to the woman (partner, father, boyfriend, ex-partners, siblings, children). 69.7% of rapes are committed by a partner, 17.4% of an acquaintance, and only 6.2% is the work of outsiders. In almost all cases the violence are not reported to the police and 93% are those incurred by the partner.

Domestic violence appears to be the most pervasive form of violence. The number of victims of femicide is increasing: in 2006, 101 women were killed by their partner, husband or former partner in 2010 were 128 units. Violence against women affects all social strata differences in income, class, religion, culture, education, geographic area.

In the perspective of the Italian sociology, are particularly significant, the interpretations of phenomenology of gender violence formulated by Franca Bimbi (1990 and seq.), Consuelo Corradi (2005 and seq.) and Ignazia Bartholini (2001 and seq.).

Franca Bimbi leads to violence against women in gender dynamics and exercise of masculine power. The dimensions of gender – male and female – and changes in the socio-historical traversed by the Italian society from the sixties to now take on a crucial role in understanding the phenomenon. Violence is viewed as both an appearance and a structural field within the dynamics of post-patriarchal domination.

Consuelo Corradi analyzes the violence by using a complex, three-dimensional theoretical model: a microsocial level, in which concrete situations eliciting violence and types of face-to-face interaction are taken into account; to mesosocial level, where elements: such as identity, roles and power are considered; and a macrosocial level, incorporating the perception and role of bystanders and the community, as well as the representation of love and its consequences.

Ignazia Bartholini deepens the micro-structural aspects of the phenomenon, aware of how violence, as a force structuring the relationship, allows the partners involved in the "mutual reference", ie the possibility of mutually confer a role - that of the victim, the perpetrator and of the viewer - and therefore identity. In her opinion, women become victims through a long process in which the gender violence has a foundational value that allows the deviant perpetuation of relationship.

Many of the post-modern male dissatisfactions are vented into the intimate relationship that becomes "the opportunity of a revanche identity" and "recognition of his deviant identity of perpetrator" (Bartholini 2013), which could not be obtained in other way in public life by these men. In this perspective, the couple's relationship can be considered a "factory of resources" shared that violence in the basis on which the report is based and the same mode of identity recognition.

In the dynamics of violent relationships, the violation of the woman's body besides her symbolic and psycological submission to her "intimate enemy" (Corradi 2003), within a condition of oppression relational, becomes the means with which to redeem the male identity. It impoverished as a result of female emancipation in the public sphere and masculine loss of most power marks (labor, economic strength, the central role at the social level, etc.), redeems itself in the intimate relationship when the partner becomes the

executioner for the victim-woman and all those play the role of spectators - direct or indirect - of violent ritual. Playing as the mask of the executioner, the man flips his public identity, which suddenly becomes stronger. The perpetrator, who yesterday was an "social nobody" (Bartholini 2003) without the post-patriarchal power that gave him an identity typically male (Bimbi 2000), now – to eyes of the woman who rapes and trough the spectator indirect (neighbors, work colleagues, friends, relatives), he becomes a negative, deviant hero but still a "hero" (Bartholini 2013). He exist again.

4. GENDER VIOLENCE AND "REVANCHE OF MALE IDENTITY" IN POST-CONFLICT SOCIETY OF SERBIA

Currently, Serbian society can be described as anomic, post-war, post-conflict and in a political and economic transition. In the recent past it is possible to identify two phases: the first - since 1989 till 2000 - is called "*blocked transformation*" phase. This is the period of Milosevic's regime which is characterized by economic collapse, hyperinflation, massive gray economy, refugees and forced migration, the introduction of quasi-multi-party system, the sanctions of the international community, the war in the former Yugoslavia, the spread of unemployment and poverty, the collapse of the middle class society. But above all, in this period that genocide and wars are gendered but also often feminised via the positioning of women not only as sexual trophies exchangeable between masculine enemies, not only as markers of collective boundaries, but also as the symbolic representations of national and ethnic collectivities (Ivekovič 1999)

The second - since the 2000 to date – is the "*delayed transformation*" phase (post-Milosevic era) and is characterized by macroeconomic stabilization, political democratization, accelerating privatization, Serbia's way to EU membership, the new increase in unemployment and disillusionment of the population rate of democratic and economic change.

In the analysis of the prevalence of violence against women in Serbia and socio-cultural characteristics of the violence, two recent studies are relevant.

The first study, is the research of the Victimological Society of Serbia, from 2009. It based on the representative sample of women in Serbian province Vojvodina (6 districts in 40 villages and 7 towns). The sample consisted of 516 women, 167 from rural and 349 from urban households (Viktimološko društvo Srbije, 2012).

The other study - "Mapping family violence against women" - is a research conducted by SeConS – Group for development initiative as a part of the project "Combating sexual and gender based violence". The project has been financed by the Government of Norway and implemented by Directorate for Gender equality, the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy of the Government of RS with the support of UNDP.

This research was conducted (2010) on the representative sample of 2500 women in central Serbia aged from 18 to 75 years, without Vojvodina and Kosovo. The sample included 925 households and women from Belgrade, 725 from South and East Serbia and 850 from Central and West Serbia (Babović, Ginić, Vuković, 2010). Through the comparison and the intersection of the data from the two studies, it is noted that more than half (56.2%) of the women after the age of majority experienced some form of domestic violence. Almost one in two women (49.8%) experiencing or has experienced some form of psychological violence. One in three women (33.9%) survived physical abuse by a family member, and 27.3% of women were receiving threats that he would live. Gunpoint was experienced by 8.3% and attack was experienced by 6.2% of women. Sexual violence was experienced by 9.1% of women and 18.6% of women were ostracized by family members, current or former partner (Viktimološko društvo Srbije, 2012).

One third of women have experienced some combination of different forms of violence, and 3.4% of women have experienced all four forms of violence during the life course. Data shows that the family violence against women is often manifested as a complex syndrome in which different methods are used for the purpose of control and preserving the unequal power relations. While psychological violence exists often as a single form of violence, economical, physical and sexual forms of violence are mostly combined with other forms of violence (Babović, Ginić, Vuković, 2010).

In all forms of violence, the abuser is often or usually (79% of cases) a current or former husband or a partner, in 49.2% of cases of psychological violence, 61.2% of threats of physical violence, 88.4% gunpoint, 64% physical abuse, 75.1% of assaults arms, 89.4% of sexual violence and persecution 80.5% (Viktimološko društvo Srbije, 2012).

The general context factors are important for understanding the violence against women in the last 25 years in Serbia, it can be distinguished by the criminalization of society, a promotion of edonistic values, which is supported by "easy" enrichment and reject the importance of the value of work and education; negative social stratification; expansion of "patriotic mysticism"; structural violence with the threat to human potential economic and

political structures; a media "idolization" of known criminals as "warrior patriots". (Jugovic, 2014). Violence among partners of the second generations post-conflict above all interconnects nationalism, gendered-body and sexuality.

According to A. Milić, we can speak about the very dramatic social circumstances individuals and families have to deal with struggling to live in everyday circumstances. The majority of families show in their behavior as well as in expectations, some mix of modern and post-modern habits, which are grounded in many cases on very traditional structural and functional base of household practice of families living in them. This mixture of structure, values and habitual practice makes family life more complex and potentially more risky, which can result in not so rear disturbance in family life and in social surroundings (Milić, 2010).

The family life in Serbia in the first 15 years since the beginning of transformation processes post war, has been characterized by (Stanojević, 2009): a) shortage of resources (material and non-material), b) slow changes or preservation of the overtaken family forms, relations and values, c) privatization of family life; d) special strategies for coping with transformation risks.

Under the influence of negative global structural factors, in the Serbian families is evident a retraditionalization and post-patriarchalization process of their gender relations and a more general *revanche* of masculine identity through the implementation of violent behaviors within their families.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In countries of ex-Yugoslavian area, it is possible to assume that the adult generation, who experienced, in the recent past, the inter-ethnic war and violence of 90s conflict, has unwittingly incorporated and conveyed violent attitudes that are reflected in gender relationships between partners.

We identify this process as a "social embodiment of gender violence" (Bartholini 2013). Indeed, it is possible to suppose that adult generations and young people, which have experiment in a recent past (instead of experimenting now the war as in other countries of Mediterranean area) the war effects, are unconsciously experiencing violence in their gender relations as a collective effect of a memory of a recent war past and are experiencing the violence as every-day condition of existence. The

symbolic and material violence in its micro-structural aspects (in intimate relationships) has replaced the conflict in those ex Yugoslavian States that have been recently traversed by the 1990s conflicts (Woodward 1995; Rieff 1996; Marzo Magno 2001; Seculić 2006). Gender prejudice that have replaced the prejudices of ethnic, religious and cultural trends in Serbian society and are, in a general condition of social poverty, increases the number of incidents of violence within intimate relationships. These prove the substantial men inability to redefine its identity in parallel with the cultural and economic factors such as war and globalization have contributed to defining.

In our opinion, the Serbian society - as Italian society - is characterized by a "social symbolic embodiment" of violence that dependents on precise connectivity patterns with representations of gender prejudices" in individual and collective behavior and the level of consciousness-unconsciousness of embodiment determines the same possibility that the "male violence embedded" turns into violent behavior - unaware and "creeping" in the second generation of ex-Yugoslavia.

According to our hypothesis, the opposition between post-patriarchal values and post-Modernist values that are "super-connected" in a fast transmission of information leads to gender violence. This last is a result of a general lack of strong references and a values orientation that satisfies the men and women of the contemporary Serbia society.

In Italian society, the conflict between traditional values of family - and the Roman Catholic Church and the values - of global post-Modernity - also called "late Modernity" (Giddens 1990), now as "reflexive Modernity" (Beck 1998), "Postmodernism" (Bauman 1998), or even "Surmodernity" (Augé 1992) - it is today one of the main causes of the violence that is consumed within intimate relationships. The emancipation of women and the parallel decline of men are a reversal deviant in violent relationships. The physical and symbolic violence that is the basis of some relationships is transformed into a kind of "relational clay," by which to reconstruct the identity of the "actors" involved. According to our hypothesis, the partner, the husband who uses violence regains, through the body and the subjection of his female partner, the identity of the dominant male who seems to have lost forever in public life. Inside the couple's relationship violence, and the redefinition of the roles of perpetrator (negative hero) and the victim, allowing the deviant reconstruction of personal and social development of the male partner.

As Héritier writes (1996), the violence that results in extreme forms, forces us to reflect on the meaning of life itself and its symbolic order, forces us to reflect on the violation of the sacred border of life. The phenomenology of violence and its link with memory and present a point essential for understanding contemporary society in its troubled complexity.

An accurate and thick description of this process can help us understand violence against women in contemporary societies as Serbian and Italy, and it contributes to shape effective policies to prevent it.

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RODNO NASILJE U POST-PATRIJARHALNOM GLOBALNOM DOBU: KOMPARATIVNA PERSPEKTIVA ITALIJE I SRBIJE

Cilj ovog rada je da ponudi razumevanje interpretativnog dualizma između italijanskog i srpskog društva u pogledu rodnog nasilja nad ženama. U radu se, u komparativnom pristupu, ukazuje na elemente kontinuiranog opadanja muške dominacije u Italiji i opadanja patrijarhalne moći u Srbiji, kao rezultate varijeteta istorijskih i socijalnih uzroka. Emancipacija žena predstavlja snagu koja se suprotstavlja nasilju od partnera u nekim porodičnim kontekstima. Dok globalizacija i nezaposlenost čine deprivaciju muškaraca u u pogledu tradicionalne moći, sa druge strane, "muškarac u padu" čini "identitetski revanš" preuzumajući dominantnu ulogu nasilnika u privatnom životu. Rodno nasilje ima instrumentalnu funkciju unutar relacionih dinamika. Takođe, rodno nasilje ima specifične kulturalne, etničke, seksualne karakteristike u realnosti rodnog identiteta.

KLJUČNE REČI: rodno nasilje / post-patrijarhat / tradicija / identitet / globalno doba